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TO: Secretary of State

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ACTION DEPARTMENT 258, INFORMATION BONN 33, BERLIN 14, LONDON 40,
PARIS 49

REFERENCE: DEPARTMENT TELEGRAM 227

CONSIDERING COMBINED INTERESTS SOVIETS AND EAST GERMANS, BELIEVE CESSION REFUGEE FLOW ONE OF PRIMARY COMMUNIST OBJECTIVES IN THEIR HANDLING BERLIN PROBLEM. THIS NOT ONLY FOR ECONOMIC REASONS BUT ALSO CHALLENGE IT CONSTITUTES TO COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA LINE. DEPT WILL RECALL STUBBORN COMMUNIST RESISTANCE AT TIME KOREAN SETTLEMENT TO ARRANGEMENTS ALLOW ANYONE OPT AGAINST COMMUNIST "PARADISE." BELIEVE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN RELUCTANT SANCTION UNILATERAL ACTION LARGELY BECAUSE OF UNWILLINGNESS ADVERTISE WEAKNESS THEIR POSITION, LACK OF LEGAL BASIS, AND WEAKENING THEIR POSITION ON BERLIN SETTLEMENT.

IN ANY SETTLEMENT BERLIN PROBLEM WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE OBTAIN SOVIET AND EAST GERMAN AGREEMENT TO ANY ARRANGEMENT WHICH DOES NOT CLOSE ESCAPE HATCH. IF THIS IS TO BE DONE SEEMS TO ME BETTER THAT THEY BEAR FULL RESPONSIBILITY RATHER THAN OUR AGREEING EVEN INDIRECTLY TO SUCH STEP. SHOULD COMMIES DECIDE TAKE THIS STEP, UNLIKELY COUNTERMEASURES COULD BE SUCCESSFUL AND BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO INITIATE COUNTERMEASURES WHICH WE MIGHT LATER HAVE TO ABANDON, SINCE I GATHER THAT EXCEPT FOR DANGER OF BUILDING UP PRESSURE FOR EXPLOSION,

EAST GERMAN ACTION HAS MANY ADVANTAGES FOR US. WOULD DOUBT

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THAT DANGER OF EXPLOSION GREATER FROM STOPPING REFUGEES
THAN FROM DETERIORATION ECONOMIC CONDITIONS BY CONTINUATION
EXODUS TRAINED MANPOWER.

IF BERLIN DEVELOPMENTS GO TO POINT OF SEPARATE TREATY
FAR BETTER FOR US THAT EAST GERMANS CLOSE BERLIN SECTOR
BORDER THAN THAT THEY ATTEMPT INTERFERE WITH OUR ACCESS
BY AIR. C

A /

MY GUESS IS HOWEVER THAT SOVIETS WILL
INITIATE EARLY MOVE FOR NEGOTIATIONS WHICH SHOULD HAVE
EFFECT REDUCING REFUGEE PROBLEM TO TOLERABLE PROPORTIONS.

THOMPSON

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